

The University of Chicago

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PHILIPPINES, 1896-1906

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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By
DONALD DEAN PARKER

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By DONALD D. PARKER

*Department of History, Park College
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CHURCH AND STATE IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1896-1906 ¹

By DONALD D. PARKER

Department of History, Park College, Parkville, Mo.

Though the Philippines was discovered in 1521, it was not until 1565 that the Spaniards began to make permanent settlements in the Islands. Within a short time after that date the archipelago was completely in the hands of the Spaniards who immediately began to set up the institutions which were common in other parts of Spain's great overseas empire. The closest union between Church and State was one of the characteristics of Spanish rule. Another was the *encomienda* system by means of which the land and people were divided among Spaniards whose duty it was to protect them, govern them, and provide them with the opportunities of the Catholic religion.

Between 1565 and 1606 no less than five religious orders established themselves in the Islands. From 1591 to 1700 the number of Spanish friars residing in the Islands increased from one hundred forty to more than four hundred. By 1600 a complete ecclesiastical system had been established and the Islands had been apportioned to the several religious orders. The Christianization of the Filipinos went rapidly forward. Within twenty years after the beginning of settlement it is estimated that 250,000 natives, or nearly one half the population, had been baptized, though pagan practices long continued to be found among them. The following three hundred years saw a deepening of the Catholic faith and an extension of Spanish culture until, at the end of the nineteenth century, ninety per cent of the seven million inhabitants were classed as Christians.

There was little change in the governmental system throughout the Spanish period, but the three hundred years of Spanish rule were marked by bitter struggles between the authorities of the Church and those of the State and between the various orders themselves. Sometimes the State would win and sometimes the Church, while the religious orders were able successfully to resist all efforts to enforce episcopal visitation as well

¹ Abstract of a doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago, 1936), 400 pages, typewritten.

as the secularization of the parishes. As Spanish rule was about to come to an end, it seemed that the Church more than ever before, if possible, dominated the political situation. One great weakness of the State was the short tenure of office of the Governors General as compared with the long terms of the Archbishops. Between 1853 and 1898, when the political and religious unrest in the Islands was at its height, forty-one Governors held office for the State while only five Archbishops held office for the Church.

There was much that needed reforming in connection with Spanish rule. The first feeble protests of the Filipinos began to be heard early in the nineteenth century. During three periods—1810-1813, 1820-1823, and 1834-1837—the Filipinos were allowed representation in the *Cortes* in Spain. From 1837 onward the Filipinos increasingly voiced their protests whenever the opportunity presented itself. No less than eighteen uprisings against the State, the Church, or both, occurred during the course of the nineteenth century. Liberal and conservative governments alternated with one another in Spain and this turmoil was reflected in the Islands, at one time filling the Filipinos with the brightest of hopes, when, with a turn of the wheel of fortune, a conservative government again filled them with the darkest despair.

The most significant uprising of the century occurred in 1872 as a result of which the Spanish friars were more firmly than ever entrenched in their positions of political authority. Three prominent Filipino priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, were executed for their alleged complicity in the uprising, and hundreds of their more influential countrymen were exiled by the Spanish authorities. The three priests became the symbols of the Filipino cause. Resentment smoldered for more than three decades and led finally to secret propaganda which found expression about 1892 in several secret societies, *La Liga Filipina*, the *Katipunan*, and Masonic lodges, which had as their purpose the bringing about of reforms. Filipinos in Spain, Hongkong, Singapore, and in Europe, did much to keep the desire for reforms alive in the hearts of their countrymen.

When the rebellion against Spain broke out in August, 1896, the inarticulate masses felt themselves smarting under intolerable grievances. From various documents of the period it appears that these grievances were of both a political and a religious nature and were mainly directed against the Spanish friars.

who had been given the sole authority in the 746 regular parishes of the Islands. Some documents show a desire for representation in the Spanish *Cortes*; others asked complete independence from Spain. If political freedom were unattainable, the Filipinos wanted all the civil rights of Spaniards extended to themselves; they demanded a return to civil government, the right to form secret societies, freedom of speech and of the press, greater participation in their own government, equality of treatment before the law, and the discontinuance of many other abuses.

The chief cause of grievance was the prominent place accorded to the Spanish friars in the government of the Islands. Petitions asked for the complete withdrawal of the friars from the archipelago, or, failing this, the requirement that all political power be withdrawn from them and that their duties be strictly limited to the ecclesiastical sphere. Specifically, the Filipino revolutionists charged that the large friar estates had often been acquired illegally; that the tenants on these estates were frequently abused and forced to pay heavy rentals. They charged that the friars exacted exorbitant fees for performing such priestly duties as baptism, marriage, and burial. The Filipinos complained that the friars had always opposed the secularization of the parishes and had kept the native clergy from advancing to their rightful positions in the Church. They asserted that the friars in their efforts to prevent secularization had carried on a campaign of vilification against the native clergy by attacking their character, their morals, their lack of education, and their fitness for the priesthood. The Filipinos complained that the educational system of the Islands was under the complete domination of the friars who adroitly frustrated any plan of reforms instituted by the Spanish government. Not only so, but hand in hand with this went a control of the press that all free expression of opinion was strictly forbidden. They charged that the political responsibilities of the friars had given them such power that they frequently used it to oppress the Filipinos, persecute their opponents, and secure the banishment of hundreds of people, especially of the better educated classes. They bitterly complained of the fact that the friars had been given such great political power that they had become the virtual masters of the political, social, and economic life of their parishes. This power they used to oppose all progressive efforts and all reforms which would lessen

their prestige and power. Finally, they declared that many of the friars, disregarding their vow of celibacy, were living in concubinage with their female parishioners.

Most of these charges have since been substantiated by a host of witnesses, both Filipino and foreign, lay and clerical.

Though the Filipinos were hostile to the friars of the Augustinian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollect orders, they bore no ill will toward the representatives of the other orders in the Islands, nor to the Catholic Church itself. Their enmity was directed against the orders which held large estates and which exercised political authority through their members. Normally there were 2,651 regular and secular clergy in the Islands. There were 346 Augustinians, 327 Recollects, 107 Franciscans, and 233 Dominicans at the close of the Spanish period. In addition there were about 42 Jesuits, 16 Capuchins, and 6 Benedictines. The 1013 friars of the four orders referred to were in charge of parishes, but only 150 native clergy were permitted to hold such position; all other Filipino priests either assisted the friar curates or were forced to perform other humble tasks.

As soon as the revolt against Spain had gained headway, the Filipinos vented their hatred on the friars, driving them with but few exceptions from their parishes, torturing and humiliating many of them, and killing forty-two outright. A total of 300 to 450 were captured and held by the insurgents until 1900, while their more fortunate brethren were cooped up in several of the larger towns of the Islands.

The rebellion which broke out in August, 1896, was the most successful ever led against the Spaniards. It ended only in December, 1897, when, in consideration of a heavy payment to two score rebel leaders, the latter were sent from the Islands after securing a promise that the friars would be withdrawn and that other specified reforms would speedily be put into effect.

The Filipino leaders on November 1, 1897, while still hopeful of success, had adopted a constitution for the Philippine Republic. It is significant that it sanctioned religious liberty, the right of the people to assemble peaceably, the right to petition and to express grievances, freedom of the press and of education, exemption from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, as well as other guarantees of personal liberty. Here, therefore, is to be seen the first expression of the Filipino desire for reli-

gious liberty. Though a skeleton of government was set up, the close of the rebellion a month later brought the erstwhile republic also to an end.

In spite of the promise of the Spanish Governor General to withdraw the friars and effect reforms, no change was made between December, 1897 and May 1, 1898 when, with the wholly unexpected arrival of the American fleet in Manila Bay, the entire history of the Islands was forever changed. The sinking of the Spanish fleet on that date was followed on August 13th by the capture of Manila, and this in turn by the treaty of peace on December 10, 1898 which gave the Islands to the United States.

The Filipinos were not passive during the Spanish-American contest. They welcomed the Americans as deliverers from Spanish misrule and it was their hope and expectation that they would be given their independence with or without American protection. Accordingly, they began to organize their government. The constitution which they adopted in the autumn of 1898 was more liberal and adequate in every way than that of 1897. After a long and heated debate, by a majority of one, it was voted that there should be freedom of worship and separation of Church and State. Mabini, President Aguinaldo's chief adviser at this time, felt that these provisions if put into effect at once would serve to divide the Filipinos at a time when the greatest unity was desired. Accordingly, he prevailed upon the President to postpone these much-debated articles until a later time.

While the Revolutionary Congress was in session another movement was in progress to organize a national church under the leadership of Gregorio Aglipay, a Filipino priest of superior ability. Aglipay was the only priest among the ninety-two members of the Congress. Aguinaldo appointed him Vicar General of the Filipino Army on October 20, 1898, and eight days later he was further raised by his appointment as Vicar General of the Philippine Islands. He immediately began his duties and through circulars and conferences sought to organize an ecclesiastical system under the revolutionary government. This was made easy and necessary because of the fact that the Spanish friars had been completely driven from their parishes and there was no intention on the part of the Filipinos to permit them to return.

On November 15th of the same year Aglipay was appointed ecclesiastical governor of Nueva Segovia by the Spanish incumbent of that bishopric who was a captive in the hands of the Filipinos. Later the same month his appointment was confirmed by the Archbishop of Manila, Nozaleda, who urged him to begin his duties at once. All the motives leading to Aglipay's appointment by the Spanish prelates are not clear, but it seems that they felt that under the existing circumstances the power of the Catholic Church could be best served in this way.

The Catholic authorities in Rome and in the United States brought great pressure upon the American officials in Washington to try to secure the release of the friars from captivity. Accordingly, General E. S. Otis, military governor of the Islands, carried on an extended correspondence during November, 1898 with Aguinaldo in which he urged the latter to retain the respect of the civilized world by releasing the Spanish priests. Aguinaldo refused to do so, contending that the priests in many cases had actively engaged in the fighting against the Filipinos and that they were therefore to be treated like soldiers. Furthermore, it was his intention to keep them to use in bargaining with the Vatican for a complete recognition of the Filipino clergy when the friars should be withdrawn from the Islands.

This and other causes, not the least of which were Archbishop Nozaleda's invectives against the heretical Americans, gradually caused the Filipinos to question the intentions of the United States. When the treaty of peace was concluded without giving the Filipinos a chance to express their desires, the die was cast. One event led to another until hostilities broke out on February 4, 1899 and continued until March, 1901 when Aguinaldo was captured. The worst part, however, was over by the end of 1899. Thereafter the more intelligent Filipinos increasingly came to believe that it was best to accept American sovereignty inasmuch as it seemed that under American rule they would be given a much greater degree of autonomy than they had ever experienced under Spain.

As soon as the Archbishop saw that American sovereignty was assured, and that more could be gained for the Church by relying upon America and the influence the Vatican could exert upon American officials, he promptly excommunicated Aglipay and repudiated all connection with him. This occurred on April 29, 1899, but it was not until August 19th of the same year that Aglipay replied, denying the charges that had alleged-

ly brought about his excommunication, and in turn excommunicating the Archbishop. At the time the Filipinos still held high hopes of driving the Americans out of the Islands, but as their cause grew increasingly hopeless the plan for a national church administered by Filipinos also succumbed.

American Protestantism entered the Islands almost as soon as American arms. It was a foregone conclusion that religious liberty and separation of Church and State would follow the flag. As early as September 6, 1898 an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society entered the Islands and met with immediate success in disposing of many Bibles, New Testaments, and portions. In November of the following year the American Bible Society opened an office in Manila. These two societies reported increasing sales and within four years disposed of nearly a half million copies of the Bible or portions thereof.

Protestant chaplains and Y.M.C.A. secretaries had conducted evangelical services as soon as the Americans entered the Islands. So great was the interest in all aspects of the hitherto unknown Filipino life that it was not long before the leading Protestant denominations of the United States began to make plans for sending missionaries to the Philippines. Accordingly, the first Presbyterian missionaries arrived in April, 1899, followed by several Methodist and Baptist missionaries a year later. The year 1901 saw the entrance of United Brethren-Disciples, and Episcopalian missionaries, followed by a Congregational missionary in 1902. By 1904 there were about fifty Protestant mission workers in a half dozen of the largest cities of the Islands. Their work had met with great success from the very beginning. With few exceptions they were given a hearty welcome by the Filipinos. Requests for the opening of new centers came in faster than they could be answered. The work was mainly concerned with the conduct of preaching centers and to a less degree with the selling of Scripture portions and the carrying on of educational and medical work. During the earlier years much of the time of the missionaries was taken up administering to the needs of American soldiers who amid their strange surroundings were much in need of religious care.

The Protestant missionaries soon saw that if they were to do effective work they would have to apportion the Islands among the various mission bodies. Accordingly, all groups entered into the forming of the Evangelical Union on April 26, 1901. This proved to be an exceedingly wise step for it pro-

moted a comity among the groups that has never been excelled elsewhere in mission fields. Each mission group was assigned a number of provinces in which to work, though Manila was a common field for all.

From the beginning the Catholic Church hierarchy bitterly opposed the Protestant mission work. In spite of the American guarantee of religious freedom, the Archbishop threatened with excommunication anyone who published announcements of Protestant meetings. Occasionally the people were incited to stone or otherwise molest the Protestant meetings. In many cases, however, this opposition served to increase the interest in the evangelical work.

The attitude of the American military and civil authorities was strictly non-partisan in regard to religious affairs. They were indeed face to face with a delicate situation for they could not favor the Roman Church even though the people were overwhelmingly adherents of the Catholic faith. Though several incidents occurred which seemed to indicate a disposition to favor the Catholic Church, or to hinder the Protestant missionaries in their work, the mission bodies could complain of nothing in the attitude of the American officials in regard to religious affairs. They, however, found much to criticize in the attitude of the American officials toward Sabbath observance, while all recognized that the drinking habits of the American soldiers were doing great harm to American prestige. Until late in 1902 there was a feeling on the part of many Americans in government or teaching service that the American authorities did not favor their showing any interest in Protestant services for fear of having their motives misunderstood by the Filipinos. Consequently, most of them did not attend church services and this led the Filipinos to believe that nearly all Americans were irreligious.

The impartiality of the American officials was not so apparent to the Filipinos as to the Protestant missionaries and others. A number of incidents took place which led them to believe that General Otis was ready to take advice on religious matters from the Archbishop and the friars. Indeed, it seems evident that for a time in 1899 General Otis felt that he could better placate the Filipinos by working through the friars. Nothing could have been more futile than this and Otis himself soon saw the ineffectiveness of such a policy and discontinued it. He wrote in a report of 1899 that most of the Fili-

pinos believed he was an ardent Romanist and was disposed to favor the desires of the Archbishop.

The thinking of the Filipinos on religious matters was very confused. They had lived so long without religious liberty and under a close union of Church and State that they could not understand what America's intentions were. While some believed that Otis was favoring the friars, others believed that the Protestant missionary efforts in the Islands were government-inspired and supported. Ardent Catholics objected to this supposed attempt of the government to change their religion; others as strongly objected to Otis's apparent favoring of the friars.

Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans was sent as papal delegate to the Islands in order to secure a settlement of the many intricate religious matters that had arisen. From the time of his arrival on January 2, 1900, his visit was looked upon with great suspicion by the Filipinos. A week after his arrival there was published in an influential Manila paper an alleged declaration of Archbishop Chapelle that the Spanish friars would not only be returned to their former parishes but would be maintained there by American military authority. Though the Archbishop repudiated the declaration, subsequent action on his part was in the very direction of the alleged statement. The Filipino papers, taking advantage of their newly found freedom, immediately broke out in a bitter attack upon the friars. Further mistrust was aroused when Chapelle by some of his remarks made it appear that he represented not only the Pope but the American President as well. Under such circumstances it was almost a foregone conclusion that the Archbishop's efforts to peacefully adjust the intricate religious situation were doomed to fail.

The mistrust of the Filipinos toward America's intentions might have been allayed if they could have known of a correspondence then being conducted between Chapelle and Otis. In this, Otis made it clear to the Archbishop that the American government had no intention of intervening in any religious troubles in the Islands, that it would not force the friars upon the people against their will, and that the question of the ownership of the friar estates was not for him to decide but should be left to the courts. At Chapelle's insistence, however, the Bishop of Cebu was returned to his diocese and several friars were sent to the isolated Batanes Islands where the enmity

toward them was not so great as elsewhere. Though the Filipinos were assured in a general way that they should not have the friars forced upon them, the friars through their newspapers and in other ways made it appear that their own interests were identical with those of the American government.

Meanwhile, the Archbishop and the American military authorities were receiving petitions from many different towns throughout the archipelago praying that the friars not be returned to their former parishes. To these petitions, General MacArthur, who had succeeded Otis in command on May 5, 1900, replied by proclamation that the government soon to be set up would embody a guarantee of complete religious liberty and separation of Church and State, while at the same time he made it clear that the people were free to accept or reject, support or refuse to support, any priest who might be sent to them. However, he warned them that no violence was to accompany any action they might take. This was the fullest and most specific pledge of religious freedom which had been made to the Filipinos up to that time. This proclamation, sent out on July 6, 1900, was soon known all over the Islands and did much to pour oil on the troubled waters.

Late in the same year both Archbishop Chapelle and Archbishop Nozaleda left the Islands with the religious questions still unsettled. Meanwhile, from the time the friars had been driven from their parishes their places had been assumed by their Filipino assistants who continued to administer them throughout the period under consideration. The friar estates were bringing in no revenue, for the tenants refused to pay rent to the friars, though they sometimes paid it to representatives of the insurgent government when pressure was put upon them. It was the evident intention of the insurgents to confiscate the friar estates when they were able to do so.

Two commissions of five members each were sent by the American government to the Islands. The first, headed by Dr. Jacob G. Schurman, arrived in Manila on March 4, 1899. Its purpose was to carry good will, to investigate conditions, and to recommend future action. Its report late in the year led to the appointment of the second commission, headed by William H. Taft. This commission arrived on June 3, 1900 and immediately began to exercise the advisory and legislative powers granted to it. The first commission had found that

the most insistent and widespread demand of the Filipinos was the withdrawal of the friars from the Islands and the substitution of Filipino clergy in the parishes.

Recognizing that the Islands were not yet ready for independence, the first commission recommended the setting up of a liberal and beneficent civil government which would insure peace and promote public education and public works. This the Taft Commission immediately set itself to do. A notice of amnesty resulted in the voluntary surrender of 5,000 insurgents. The public hearings on all phases of Philippine life gave the Filipinos confidence in the American government. For the first time in their history they were able to state freely their grievances and offer suggestions for their own welfare. All classes of people, including prelates of the Catholic Church, were allowed to express themselves at these hearings.

The Commission set about to construct roads and bridges, improve harbors, establish a civil service system, provide for public instruction, and to form government bureaus to conduct all the phases of government. Almost at once friendly relations began to develop toward the new American regime. Aguinaldo's acceptance of American sovereignty on April 1, 1901 and his peace proposal on the 19th following completely broke the back of the rebellion, though sporadic warfare continued for some time after on the part of irreconcilable guerilla bands. On July 4, 1901 the military was replaced by civil government with Taft as Governor.

Upon the arrival of the Americans in 1898 certain better educated soldiers had been assigned to conduct schools for the Filipino children in their localities. Until the school system was set up in January, 1901, these schools with American soldiers and chaplains as teachers continued to spread wherever American troops held territory. Much good was thus done and the soldier-teachers were able to create a good feeling toward American rule. By the middle of 1901 the enrollment in the schools had reached 100,000 while a year later it was 200,000. In May, 1902 in addition to the Filipino teachers there were 926 Americans at work in the government schools. The educational act of January 21, 1901 provided for free public education in each municipality to be conducted in the English language. The change from the church-controlled schools of the Spanish regime to the non-sectarian schools of the Amer-

ican period called for great adjustments. As a concession to religious groups the Commission provided that religious instruction could be given by non-teachers to school children in the schools outside the regular hours on petition of the parents.

The public school system met with a right hearty reception on the part of all classes of Filipinos, but it was bitterly denounced by Catholic authorities in the Islands and in the United States. Occasions arose when Catholic priests used their influence to oppose the schools, but in general their opposition was ineffective.

The religious picture of the Philippines from 1896 to 1902 presents great contrasts. There were provinces in which the Catholic churches were well attended by devout Filipinos, especially by women. There were other provinces where great indifference was shown toward religious observances. In certain areas a degree of free-thinking on religious matters was evident. Some districts welcomed the Protestant missionaries with open arms while others, often inspired by Catholic priests, opposed them at every turn. Numerically, ninety per cent of the seven million people were classed as Roman Catholics.

All authorities agree that gross superstition was everywhere to be found among the masses of the people. Often the Catholic faith was but a veneer over the old belief in spirits and charms. In this respect conditions were much like those which prevailed in certain areas of Spanish America. One peculiarity of Philippine religious life was the ease with which fanatical groups were able to secure a following among the masses. Throughout the last half century such groups have arisen with amazing ease. Several such arose during the period under consideration.

It is noteworthy that while the Protestant missions were gaining many adherents, the American Catholics were doing practically nothing for their fellow religionists in the Islands. This was in part due to the fact that American Catholics would not believe the charges leveled against the Spanish friars of the Islands, nor were they willing to admit that there was any difference in quality between Spanish Catholicism and American Catholicism.

In November, 1900 the Federal Party was born. Because it was highly favorable toward American rule, the Commission gave it its hearty support. Early in January, 1901 a section

of this party started a movement to commit the organization to Protestantism. Dr. James B. Rodgers, the Presbyterian missionary who was consulted by them, wisely turned them from their purpose of linking politics with religion.

It became increasingly evident to the Commission that the greatest cause of unrest among the Filipinos was due to the presence of the friars in the Islands and the unsettled question of the ownership of the friar lands. The Filipinos from the first had favored the expulsion of the friars and the confiscation of their estates. As time went on they still favored the expulsion of the friars but some were willing to allow the courts to decide the ownership of the estates. American opinion in the Islands was divided but many felt that the estates should be confiscated. Americans in the homeland came increasingly to feel that the lands should be purchased and resold on liberal terms to the tenants.

By treaty the United States had guaranteed the friars in the possession of an unknown quantity of the Islands' best agricultural land. Later this was found to equal about one-fifteenth of the land under cultivation.

Believing that direct negotiations with the Vatican could quickly settle the problem of the friars and their lands, Taft headed a small commission which visited Rome during the middle of 1902. In regard to the estates the most that could be obtained was the promise that the new papal delegate soon to be appointed would carry on negotiations for the sale of the friar lands. Though the Pope refused to displease Spain and the religious orders by ordering the withdrawal of the friars of the four hated orders, he expressed the intention of gradually introducing priests of other nationalities, especially Americans. The Pope also raised the question of greater concessions being granted to the Church in the matter of education, but Taft let it be known that he was not authorized to discuss this question. If Taft could have returned to the Islands with the announcement that the friars would speedily be withdrawn and their lands purchased, the course of Philippine religious history, as will soon be seen, would have been changed.

Among the Filipino prisoners sent to Spain in 1897 was Isabelo de los Reyes, an Ilocano of considerable literary ability. Upon his release he established a paper, *Filipinas ante Europe*, which carried on a campaign against American rule in the Is-

lands. The paper was published in Spain and there and elsewhere the editor imbibed a certain amount of radicalism and socialism as well as a superficial knowledge of science and the Bible. As a delegate of the Filipino clergy he had unsuccessfully attempted to secure from the Pope a greater recognition of the Filipino priests and, failing in this, he had subsequently attacked the Church in his paper and advocated an Independent Catholic Church for the Philippines. Upon his return to the Islands in 1901 he and Gregorio Aglipay held a conference with several leading Protestant missionaries seeking to secure their cooperation in founding an independent church. In view of the reputation of the two men and their unwillingness to accept orthodox Protestant views on religious matters, the missionaries were unwilling to join with them but sent them away urging them to think of the necessity of repudiating certain Catholic beliefs and practices, the need of a married clergy, and the acceptance of the Bible as the only rule and guide.

Following this, Aglipay went to northern Luzon to unite the Filipino clergy around his plans. Reyes remained in Manila where he became deeply interested in the laboring classes. He formed the Democratic Labor Union and was soon involved in several strikes and labor agitation which put him for short periods behind the bars.

On August 3, 1902, at a public meeting of the members of his labor union and others interested, he proclaimed the Philippine Independent Catholic Church with Gregorio Aglipay as its head, and with an honorary board composed of Governor Taft and several influential Filipinos.

The announcement of this schism was variously received. The Americans looked upon the movement as seditious. Aglipay a year before had effectively led guerilla forces against American troops, though he had later voluntarily surrendered, taken the oath and kept it. Reyes' record in Europe and his activities in the Islands laid him open to suspicion. Aglipay refused to have anything to do with the movement and on August 20th Reyes himself who was then in prison lost hope and announced that the schism would not take effect. While the Filipinos were greatly interested, only a group of sixty residents of a town, close to Manila sent in a statement on August 10th in which they declared their adherence to the new

church and requested that a priest be sent to them. The honorary members strongly renounced all connection with the movement and regretted that their names had unwilling been connected with the schism.

No sooner had the proclamation of the schism been recalled than the movement began to take on life. Taft returned to Manila from Rome with his discouraging statement regarding his negotiations. The papers at the same time announced that American priests would be sent to the Islands. On September 1st fourteen Filipino priests of Ilocos Norte, the home of both Aglipay and Reyes, announced their adherence to the movement. They were soon joined by other priests and their congregations from various areas of Luzon. When the movement seemed assured of a continuing existence, Aglipay became its head and on October 1st assisted in the formation of the constitution of the Church. On October 25th the new church was solemnly proclaimed at a great religious service in the crowded district of Manila. Appointment of bishops and priests was begun and in January, 1903 Aglipay himself was solemnly consecrated by the other bishops whom he had appointed as *Obispo Maximo*. The movement spread like wildfire as town after town all over the Islands flooded the office of the Aglipayan Church, as it soon came to be called, with statements of adherence and requests for priests. By the middle of 1903 the Church claimed 3,000,000 members, or nearly one half the population.

Perhaps nothing added to the spread of the movement more than the issuing in December, 1902 of a papal bull which gave the Filipinos no hope that their native clergy would be advanced to the position they had long desired. The Aglipayan Church assured them of such advancement, and priests and people went over to the new church in a great outburst of national feeling.

Trouble immediately arose over the possession of the church buildings, the *conventos* or priests' houses, and the cemeteries. The Filipinos believed that these belonged to the people or to the government since they had been forced to contribute their labor in the building of them during Spanish times. When the majority of the people in a town changed their allegiance from the Catholic to the Aglipayan faith, they felt that the buildings and cemetery should continue

to be used by them. There early developed, therefore, a scramble to gain possession of the Roman Catholic churches, convents, and cemeteries. Great pressure was brought to bear upon priests, town officials, and the people to change their allegiance to the new church. Something had to be done at once to avert trouble and Governor Taft wisely issued his proclamation of "peaceable possession" which declared that whichever group was in peaceable possession of the church property should remain in such possession until the courts could decide the question of ownership. This served to allay much of the trouble but sporadic cases arose here and there until a decision was finally rendered four years later.

These troubles were the burden of complaints and petitions which the Philippine Commission had to deal with from 1902 to 1906. At every opportunity Taft patiently reiterated his own proclamation and the American principles of religious freedom and the separation of Church and State. Both sides erred occasionally in disregarding the proclamation, though such erring was more often on the part of the Aglipayans than of the Catholic authorities. There were times when the American officials seemed to favor one side more than the other, but they tried to be impartial in the handling of the delicate situation that had arisen. The Aglipayans looked upon Taft as their friend for they realized that without his insistence upon complete impartiality they could not have grown as they did.

From 1903 to 1905 Aglipay was in communication with the Old Catholic Church of Europe and the Episcopal Church of America in the hope that he might be consecrated after the orthodox apostolic fashion. This was never done because Aglipay was apparently unwilling to be subject in any way to any foreign authority, or because, as he said, he did not have the money to finance a trip to Europe to receive the consecration.

Aglipay's relations with the Protestant missionaries were very cordial. For several years he appeared at the annual conference of the Methodist missionaries and exchanged fraternal greetings. However, the missionaries of all denominations were wary of being too intimately connected with the Aglipayan movement for Aglipay continued most of the Catholic practices which were so offensive to the Protestants. No effort was made to improve the morals of the Filipino clergy.

The religious beliefs of the Aglipayans remained Roman in every way except for their lack of allegiance to the Pope. Reyes and others tried to rid the Church of some of the more objectionable Catholic beliefs and practices but they were not followed in this by the great mass of the Filipinos. Late in 1903 the Aglipayan Church made saints of their national hero, Jose Rizal, and the three martyr Filipino priests of the uprising of 1872.

The Protestants were especially pleased when Aglipay endorsed the spread of the Bible among his followers. During 1903 colporteurs reported very encouraging sales of Bibles and portions among the people where the Aglipayan Church was strong. Mr. Arthur W. Prautch alone disposed of 70,000 copies of the Gospels or portions thereof.

The Aglipayan Church quickly became established throughout the Islands. Priests were given short courses in the Aglipayan seminaries and were rather rapidly ordained even though many lacked sufficient training. The Catholic authorities charged that stable-boys of one year were to be seen in charge of parishes the next.

La Verdad started publication early in 1903 as the official newspaper of the new church. When it was discontinued late the same year, *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente* took its place until it, too, ceased publication in December, 1904. Thereafter a number of friendly newspapers helped to spread news about the Aglipayan Church. The two official newspapers reached a wide reading public. For a time *La Verdad* claimed a paid subscription list of 5,000 which was three times as great as any other newspaper in the Islands.

The Protestant churches looked upon the schism as a movement highly favorable to the evangelical groups, for they felt that once the people had broken away from Rome they would be more ready to accept the Protestant belief. This happened in many cases for all the mission groups reported a steady growth from 1902 to 1906.

Meanwhile, negotiations were being conducted during 1902 and 1903 which led to an agreement on the part of the Philippine government to buy the friar agricultural lands for about seven million dollars. The actual purchase took place during 1904 and 1905, and thus the Philippines were rid of one of the most fruitful sources of agrarian trouble. The power of the

friars was effectively broken. The number residing in the Islands steadily declined from 1013 in 1896 to 246 in 1902. Thereafter their presence ceased to be a serious problem. Some of the parishes were even willing to receive the remaining Spanish friars back as their priests when they realized that their power was forever broken.

The Catholic Church began to replace the Spanish bishops with the Americans late in 1903. One Filipino was also made bishop. The Protestant missionaries expected that with the coming of an American Archbishop in the person of J. J. Harty a marked alteration would follow in the quality of Catholicism in the Islands. They expected that among the first reforms would be a strict censuring of immorality among the Catholic clergy. They believed that the American prelates would frown upon flagrant superstitious practices. The American hierarchy, however, did nothing about these things. They were in a difficult position. They no doubt felt that this was no time to offend needlessly the already suspicious clergy who remained loyal to the Catholic Church. Instead, their efforts were bent toward pacifying the Filipinos and to winning them back to the Catholic faith. In this they were successful to a certain degree.

The Aglipayan Church almost received its death-blow in November, 1906 when the Supreme Court decided that all the church property held by the schismatic church belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. During December the Aglipayans relinquished the properties which they had held for four years. Where they were numerous enough and financially able to do so, they built inexpensive chapels of their own.

Many native and foreign observers believed that the Aglipayan Church would quickly disappear. For a time it seemed to be doing so as hundreds of thousands continued to worship in the church buildings in which they and their ancestors had worshipped for generations. However, after a few years a new life was evident. The census of 1918 showed them to have a million and a half members.

The great mass of the Filipino people did not at first understand the many implications of the separation of Church and State and freedom of religious worship. These principles become very well understood, however, during the years following 1902 due to the many problems which arose in connection with the Aglipayan movement.

